1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

Some forms of illness, called to-day *faitoo fakatevolo*, are believed to be caused by a god or spirit entering the body of a person and thus making him ill. Special medicines and cabalistic signs made with the hands are employed today to dislodge such an unwelcome tenant. Another belief of the present time is that certain illness is caused by the god or spirit biting the sick person. Such an afflicted individual may say, "Nae tai au ehe tevolo" (The devil has bitten me). I have heard it said that sometimes the discomfort caused by over-indulgence in liquor is attributed to a divine visitation.

Middle age is the most popular period of life at which a person becomes a medium for a god or spirit, although sometimes the deities and spirits manifest themselves through younger men and women, but never through children. Anciently, the god manifested himself through the successor of a priest, but only after the death of the old priest. Usually priesthood passed from father to son, but sometimes the deity or spirit entered some other person unexpectedly. That person would inform the Tui Tonga of the fact and would then be appointed to the priesthood. The priest of Pulotu Katoa was always appointed by the Tui Tonga, and presumably some other priests were too, although it is not unlikely that many were appointed by the chiefs of the families or lineages for whom they officiated. The priests of Tonga did not form an association or brotherhood, as each seems to have worked independently of his colleagues. This state of affairs is attested by the absence of organized resistance to Christianity. The Tui Tonga was declared emphatically by all informants, including Rose Fatafehi, son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga, not to be a priest, in spite of the statement of certain early writers to the effect that he was the high priest of Tonga. My informants pointed out that the Tui Tonga did appoint priests to represent the gods and especially the priests of Pulotu Katoa, but that he himself was no priest.

Though the informant Tamale thought that the term *toumama* applied only to priestesses and that *taula* applied to priests, there seem to be no data to substantiate his opinion. Another informant said that the stem *mama* refers to the will of the god. This same informant gave another term for priest, namely, *fakahaeleanga*. No other informant, however, gave this term and it may be therefore another rare synonym for *taula otua*. Ana Manu of Haapai gave the term *fakafofonga* (representative) for priestess.

Each lineage seems to have had a deity with a presiding priest who had in charge the *fakafaanga* or precious and sacred possessions of its god. Part of the *fakafaanga* were fine mats which constituted a form of wealth. One mat in particular was kept folded and on the occasion of the appearance of the god was spread out for him to rest upon. This mat was treated virtually as a shrine. It might not be disposed of under pain of death at

9: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1922 OU9 Tonga OU9

temporaries. A number of elderly people and even some children do not know their ages, but the proportion is probably less in this generation than in the last. The habit of counting years is becoming common. Government requirements of registration and the practice of entering the ages of children in school rolls lead naturally to this result.

The life of the individual is divided into a number of periods which give a rough indication of age. The child is first *huhu* (at the breast), then *mavae* (weaned). This latter word however does not give a very close approximation to a child's age as understood by a European, as many children continue to suck the breast, though eating other food, for two years or more. Other words in the stages of life are, *tateka* (crawling about), *totuu* (commencing to stand), *akoako haele* (learning to walk), *haele* (walking), *lele holo* (running about), *fangafanga* (hair cut short on the top but left at the sides)—a custom that has largely fallen into disuse.

From childhood on different words are used of men and women. A general word for boy is *tamajii*. As he grows up he is *talavou jii* (little, young, young man), *talavou* (young man), *tangata* (man)—a word of very wide application—*fatu tangata* (middle-aged man), *fatu tangata motua* (late middle-aged man), *vaivai* (old, literally weak), *veetolu* (three-legged, that is supporting himself on his staff), *auau* (going down, failing). So too a man may be described as *motua aupito* (very old), or *unu* (shedding skin).

Words descriptive of the growing girl and woman are *taahine* (general word for girl), *huhu tutuu* (breast forming), *finemui jii* (little, young, young woman), *fefine* (general word for woman), *fatu fefine* (middle-aged woman), and so on as for men with the necessary alterations of *tangata* (man) to *fefine* (woman).

A man is frequently called *motua* and a woman *finemotua*. These words properly indicate a man who has begotten and a woman who has borne children.

By the use of such words it is possible to locate comparatively recent events; for example, a man may say that such a war was fought when his father was a young man. More remote occurrences may be reckoned by generations. For example, "It is

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

paid to the lords of the manor, the Government was virtually the landlord, and the king had voluntarily made over to the Treasury all rents due upon the lands not included within any "inheritance." 421 423 643

The chief obstacle that would confront every Government in Tonga would always be the difficulty in collecting the poll-tax. The people required some stronger incentive to pay than the fear of levy by distress. To meet this difficulty I adopted an idea, suggested to me by Mr Hanslip, that the tenure of land should be made dependent upon the regular payment of taxes. I converted the poll-tax into a land-tax, and gave to every taxpayer the right of occupying one allotment of a fixed area, inalienable in his family so long as he and his heirs continued to discharge their debts to the State, but liable to forfeiture if for three successive years they were guilty of neglect. As each man arrived at manhood he was entitled to claim an allotment; and when the father of grown-up sons died his widow kept his allotment for her lifetime. At her death each of the sons might choose whether they would relinquish their own holdings in favour of their father's or not; but in no case could a man occupy more than one holding. Thus we combined the "Nationalisation of land" with the institution of lords of the manor. By changing the name of the tax I disposed of the necessity for claiming it from Europeans, since, being possessed of no land of their own, they could not reasonably be called upon to pay a "land-tax." The poll-tax had for many years been the chief grievance of the traders, for Europeans will pay an amount of indirect taxation which, if imposed in direct form, would cause a rebellion. 423 651 423 428 651 [885] 423 651 563

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

present population of Tongatabu. Since that time the population has been either stationary or decreasing—slightly under normal circumstances, rapidly in time of epidemic. In 1893 the measles and the diseases consequent upon it carried off one-twentieth of the people. In the absence of such severe visitations whooping-cough is the most destructive of the introduced diseases. The mothers lack the knowledge and the self-devotion required to successfully nurse their children through such illnesses, and content themselves with calling in one native quack after another to dose the unfortunate child with a succession of nostrums until death puts an end to its sufferings.

For the low birth-rate there are several reasons. In ancient times the women were required to do no work beyond the light occupations of fishing and cloth-beating. The men planted the food, carried in the wood and water, and did the cooking. The missionaries have so industriously cultivated the idea of family life that in most Tongan households the women, after marriage, do the same work as the wives of the peasantry in Europe. In other respects they have greater liberty than under the heathen system. Formerly a girl's hair was cropped short at about twenty, and she was thenceforward classed as an old woman (*fefine motua*). No woman of mature age could then masquerade in the guise of a young girl, and there was no inducement to defer marriage and the cares of maternity; for the woman who aspired to be younger than her years had no peace from the sneers of her contemporaries. This is all changed. Under the grim social code of the missionaries, by a mockery of fate, a laxer

592 of the family groups provided the household with steady
596 cash income from a job. That family group might not have
511 had access to an agricultural allotment, but someone in another family group in the household did have such access. Together, they provided the economic basis for a viable household. In other cases, one family group in the household might have had control over an allotment while another family group supplied the labor to work it. This was especially true in some of the three-generation households, where the land was registered in the name of someone in the senior generation and the next generation provided the labor to work it. It is in these kinds of circumstances that the 'human capital' requirement of a household is apparent. This may also be the basis of other forms of household structure (see Table 13). For example, where a widow has control over her late husband's allotment but has no adult male in her family group who could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

596 To be male or female head of a household carries
592 with it recognition of fully adult status.[11] Hence, for
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11 The word "'ulu" (head or authority figure) is generally applied only to the head male, but the word "pule" (effective authority) is used in speaking of the respective roles of the male head and the female head. The division of authority between the male head and the

46: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9
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do not necessarily associate with members of their own denomination; instead, they spend most of their leisure time in the company of others of their age. During the winter football season they are fully engaged in the activities of the village football club, and in the summer they serve as cheering sections to the girls' basketball teams. They also do a lot of 'eva pē ('just going around') away from their home village, seeking scope for their courting activities.

Ordinarily, however, by his late twenties a young man has married and begun to settle down. From then on, the time that he spends outside his own household but away from income-producing activities is almost entirely spent in the company of other adult males of his congregation, often at a kava-drinking circle that meets at the home of one of the group.[7] This is especially true of members of Motulahi's Free Wesleyan congregation, which is a large enough congregation to sustain a kava group that meets almost daily at the home of the man who serves as steward of the congregation. A man also prefers to cooperate in economic activities beyond his own household with members of his own congregation (possibly because this provides a sanction for their acting in good faith). For example, I

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7 Beaglehole gives an excellent account of kava activities in village life (1941: 112-123).

47: Decktor Korn E-5 (1969-1970) 1975 OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu
Motulahi

could help her work the land, the result may be a multiple-family-unit household based on the sister-sister link between family groups.

To be male or female head of a household of one's own carries with it recognition—one might almost say "attainment"—of adult status. Hence, for both the husband and the wife, being head of their own household, no matter how humble it might be, is more prestigious and infinitely preferable to being lesser members in someone else's household. Thus, 74% of the men in Motulahi aged 30 and older are the heads of their own households, and 78% of all the men in the village who are married and living together with their wives are heads of household (see Table 8). Those men who are not heads of households

TABLE 8

Household Status of Men in the Village, According to Age and Marital Situation

Household Status and Marital Situation	Age				Total
	Percentage 20-29 (N = 82)	Percentage 30-39 (N = 53)	Percentage 40-49 (N = 54)	Percentage 50+ (N = 44)	Percentage (N = 233)
Head of household					
Member of a married couple	16	49	85	73	50
Not a member of a married couple	1	4	—	11	3
Not head of household					
Member of a married couple	21	19	7	6	14
Not a member of a married couple	62	28	7	11	32
Total percentage	100	100	99	101	99

tend to be those who are not married and hence lack the human capital necessary for maintaining a household, and/or are those who have not managed to acquire an agricultural allotment of their own—a reflection of increasing shortage of land over the past two or three decades. The differences among men of different age groups are largely accounted for by these two factors.

592 dent families or individuals. The last phase is the declining house-
597 hold with no or few children present and an increasing reliance upon other households for subsistence needs.

By using adopting mothers' ages as a rough indicator, it was found that adoptions tend to cluster at two points in the household phase, and the adopting mothers averaged about thirty-six years of age. The second cluster occurs in the declining household phase with adopting mothers having an average age of about sixty-four (See Table 9). AA

597 The motivations for young family adoptions are closely connected
598 with achieving adult status. For Tongans, marriage is not a final step
885 in attaining adult status. Many young couples begin married life by
[58] taking up residence with consanguines of either the bride or the groom. During the next few months or years the couple remains dependent on the household head and his wife. How long this period of dependency lasts
[602] depends on several factors including the husband's success at finding land or a wage-labor job, how friendly the relationship with the host family remains, and the growth of the new family. This period often ends at about the time the first child is born, by the couple establish-
597 ing a separate household. Although recognition as an adult does not
885 come abruptly, bearing a child and assuming the responsibility for its
851 care is an important step. Because of the importance of having and caring for children in attaining adult status, young couples usually become prospective adopters if they are unable to have children of their own.

AA [See p. 62--Analyst]